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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the development of English language use in Singapore (using the 1970 and 1980 censuses), examines the primary school English syllabus, and discusses the implications of primary school English instruction of pre-school children whose parents are English-educated. It is concluded that the increasing tendency for Singapore children to attend Mandarin- and English-medium kindergarten provides an opportunity to introduce a fluency-focused syllabus such as the Breakthrough to Literacy plan rather than a syllabus emphasizing accuracy, although a structural approach would continue to be appropriate for children whose dominant language on entering elementary school is not English. (MSE)

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A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE AMONG PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN IN SINGAPORE WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO ENGLISH

ED274169

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

In part one of this paper I will consider the development of English in Singapore between the 1970 and 1980 census. In part two, I will look at the English syllabus in the primary school; and in part three show how the findings from a small-scale study of pre-school children whose parents are English educated may warrant other alternatives to the present English programs in primary schools.

The Development of English in Singapore 1970-80

Singapore is a multiethnic society with 77 per cent Chinese, 15 per cent Malays, 6 per cent Indian and 2 per cent from other ethnic origins among a population of more than 2.4 million (1980 census). The official policy of multilingualism prescribes that the four official languages (English, Mandarin, Malay and Tamil) are given equal status. Yet in actual practice English has become the de facto national language (Llamzon 1977) and the dominant working language (Kuo 1977). "The complexity of the sociolinguistic situation and the influence of the operating language policies are reflected in the pattern and trend of literacy in Singapore." (Kuo 1983:1)

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The estimated literacy rate in the various official languages by age can be summarized as follows:

Age 10 to 29:	English	61.6	(expressed in
	Chinese	54.2	percentages)
	Malay	17.3	
	Tamil	2.6	
Age 30 to 60 and over:	Chinese	40.85	
	English	24.4	
	Malay	9.85	
	Tamil	3.2	

(1980 Census)

"Literacy is defined as the abilit[illegible] a newspaper in any language; given the multilingual context of Singapor[illegible]terate person may be literate in any one or any combination of the official languages" (Kuo 1983:5). It is therefore important to look into the language or languages in which that people are literate. Persons aged 10 and over who are literate in one or more languages:

One official language only:			
	Chinese	30.3	(expressed in
	English	16.0	percentages)
	Malay	4.7	
	Tamil	1.1	
	Total 52.1		
Two or more official languages:			
	English + Chinese	18.9	
	English + Malay	9.4	
	English + Tamil	1.8	
	Other two or more	1.4	
	Total	31.5	(1980 Census)

Those figures show that there were 31.5 per cent of the population literate in two or more official languages. This section of the population was predominantly literate in English and one or more of the other three official languages, reflecting the special status of English in Singapore. Analyzing literacy in English, we find that English was the only official language with large percentages of literate persons from all ethnic communities; it is also the language which has made the most progress among all four ethnic groups. If we compare the 1970 to 1980 census figures of the population over 10 years of age who are literate in the official languages we find that:

1. In English the difference between 1970-1980 is

Malays	+21.4	(expressed in
Indians	+12.2	percentages)
Chinese	+ 1.2	
Others	- 6.8	

2. In Chinese

Chinese	+17.8
Malays	+0.3
Indians	+0.3
Others	+1.0

3. In Malay

Malays	+12.8
Indians	+5.8
Chinese	+0.1
Others	-2.7

4. In Tamil

Indians	+3.7	
Malays	+0.1	
Chinese	--	
Others	--	(1980 Census)

The enormous growth of literacy in English for all ethnic groups clearly reflects the status of English as the dominant working language and its function in cross-ethnic communication in Singapore (Kuo 1983).

The language environment of the media also indicates the growing dominance of English particularly with regard to the age groups. Noticeable also is the drop among the under 30 year olds watching Mandarin programs in spite of the campaigns encouraging the learning of Mandarin. The television programs in the Singapore Broadcasting Corporation (SBC) network most frequently watched are as follows:

(expressed in percentages)		English	Mandarin	*Other Varieties of Chinese	Malay	Tamil
Age	60+ to 30	10 to 33	55 to 50	20 to 7	10 to 5	1
	29 to 10	45 to 50	37 to 35	7 to 3	5 to 7	1

*These programs were mainly in Cantonese and since the 1980 census only Mandarin programs are shown on SBC.

Trends in newspaper readership show the following:

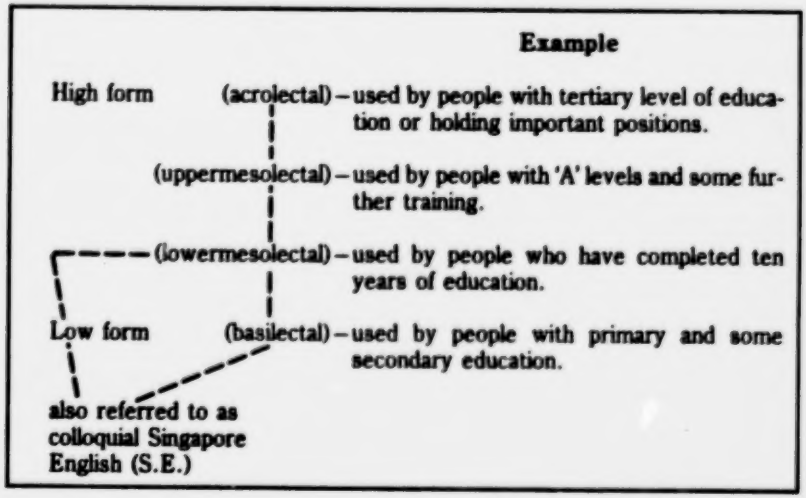
(expressed in percentages)		English newspapers	English and Chinese	English and Malay	English and Tamil
Age	60+ to 30	15 to 35	3 to 8	2 to 5	1 to 1.5
	29 to 10	37 to 31	15 to 18	7 to 11	1.5 to 2

	Chinese newspapers	Malay	Tamil
60+ to 30	75 to 40	15 to 8	6 to 2
29 to 10	30 to 28	8.5 to 9	1.5 to 1

Sixty-eight per cent of young people (under 30 years old) are predominantly the multi-lingual readers of newspapers. This is a result of the shift in the enrollment to English-stream schools since the 1960's. In 98 per cent of all primary schools, English is the medium of instruction. In fact the government has recently announced that English will be the first language in all schools by 1987.

What we are seeing in Singapore is that English, a non-native language, has been given the function of a superordinate language of education, administration, trade and international relations.

However, in Singapore, as in many other countries, there is a variety of English spread along a lectal continuum and although we are only considering the sociolectal scale from the vertical point of view, this will give some indication of the variety used in Singapore (Pride 1983).


Example
High form
(acrolectal) – used by people with tertiary level of education or holding important positions.
(uppermesolectal) – used by people with 'A' levels and some further training.
(lowermesolectal) – used by people who have completed ten years of education.
Low form
(basilectal) – used by people with primary and some secondary education.
also referred to as colloquial Singapore English (S.E.)

(adapted from Platt and Weber 1980)

It is mainly the acrolectal variety that carries prestige value as it is the rhetorical norm of the community in so far as it is internationally understandable. This is what Tay (1983) calls "Educated Singaporean English" (S.E.), the English spoken by English-educated Singaporeans in a formal context.

There is, of course, considerable lect-shifting according to communicative requirements. However, this shift is a one way process, as it can only be done by those possessing an acro/mesolectal variety.

English in the Primary School System

If we look at the present multilingual education system, we can summarize this as follows:

Multilectal/Multilingual Education in Singapore

	Malay Local Malay dialect / If English– Coll. SE	*Chinese* Varieties of Chinese / If English– Coll. SE	*Indian* Indian languages / If English– Coll. SE	Eurasians *(some Indians some Chinese)* *SE* / Usually Coll. SE
PRE-SCHOOL CHILD				
CHILD AT SCHOOL	1. English 2. Mandarin	1. Mandarin 2. English	1. (Standard) Malay 2. English	1. (Standard) Tamil 2. English
CHILD AT SCHOOL (after 1987)	1. English 2. Mandarin	1. English 2. (Standard) Malay	1. English 2. (Standard) Tamil	

English = Formal SBrE in writing
Formal to Semi-formal SE in speech

(adapted from Platt and Weber 1980)

The English language program in primary schools is based on *The English Syllabus for the New Education System* (Ministry of Education 1981). This program outlines the 134 language items to be taught from Primary One to Primary Six. The Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore (CDIS) has produced two instructional packages for English, based on this syllabus, the *Primary English Programme* (PEP) and the *New English Series for Primary Education* (NESPE). In spite of the different packaging the theoretical approach is the same, structural and behaviorist. This is reinforced by the examination at the end of Primary Six, based entirely on the 134 items listed in the syllabus. The basis for the ordering of the 134 items of language in the English Syllabus seems to have little justification other than it follows very closely a descriptive model such as those produced for graded reading schemes in the late sixties and early seventies. The target audience for these schemes was mainly adult EFL students and the basis for the sequencing of the lexico-grammatical items was that given by popular EFL textbooks published at that time. Widdowson (1981) pointed out in his report on the *New Primary English Syllabus* that it was basically a reorganization of con-

tent to fit new streaming arrangements and it incorporated no real change of pedagogic approach. He went on to say that there was no clear statement of principles of approach and no explicit rationale for the design.

One could argue that there are good reasons for a closely structured syllabus in the Singapore context not least among the points to mention would be the underqualified and undertrained English teachers in the primary sector. However, one must also consider the consequences of a rigid approach where teaching strategies become the *only* learning strategies. As an example of this the following recording was made in a Primary Four (9-10 years old) classroom. The language item being taught is 'either-or' – 'neither-nor'. The teacher was following the PEP handbook and holding up pencils.

> Teacher: "You can choose neither the red nor the blue. Which one will you choose?
> Pupil: _____ (response inaudible)
> Teacher: Yes? .... Yes? He may have the green one."
> (Tape 1A 15-19 Yip Lian Choo 1983)

The drilling of this language item has little or no pragmatic validity especially as 'either-or', 'neither-nor' are not used a great deal in S.E.

The Present Study

The problem with a lot of the material used for teaching English in the Singaporean school system is that it is EFL orientated, suitable perhaps in a country where little or no English is spoken outside the classroom. Yet English in Singapore has been assigned the dominant role in the national linguistic system network. We could go even further and suggest that for a growing percentage of the under 30 year olds in the population English is becoming the dominant language in both the work and the environment. A recent study undertaken at the National University of Singapore (NUS) in 1982-83 with pre-school children showed that a more flexible approach to the teaching of English in the primary system needs to be considered.

The NUS Study can be summarizad as follows: there were 30 subjects in all, 16 female, 14 male. There were 15 subjects between the age of 3 and 4, and 15 subjects between the age of 4 and 5. The parents in all 30 households described themselves as using English as their dominant language and having tertiary or 'A' level education in English. A number of cases (10) were dropped from the study because the claim that English was used widely at home was not supported by the evidence on the tapes. In the informal setting of the home colloquial English was used, but in the 30 households the parents could move freely along the lectal continuum in English. Also, all households were at least bilingual, that is in one or more languages other than English. These languages can be broken down as follows:

Mandarin	8 households
Teochew	10
Hokkien	10
Cantonese	7
Hainanese	2
Malay	5
Tamil	4
Punjabi	1

In ten of the 30 cases in the study, there was an older brother or sister; five had a younger brother or sister. Babyminding, either by someone who is paid to do the job or by a relative, usually the grandparents, involved 18 of the 30 cases studied. This meant that the child was away from the parents either from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. Monday to Friday or completely away from the parental home and only in contact with the parents on weekends. The practice of babyminding so that both parents can work is very widespread in Singapore. Thus a child may acquire a language other than that spoken at home from his babyminder.

Tape recordings were made by members or friends of the families in a variety of situations within the households over a period of two months. These were later transcribed and analyzed by students at NUS. The recordings that were made are only a small sample of the corpus of the child to adult, child to child language. It was decided that if an item appeared five times or more, it would be judged to be a regular feature of the individual's speech pattern at that time.

The present study concentrated on the lexico-grammatical items in English used by and with the child. This was because the main focus of the English Syllabus is on the lexico-grammatical features of English. This is not to say that the phonological patterns of Singaporean English are not important. The syllable-time rhythm gives what has been described by various writers as a machine-gun rhythm even among highly educated Singaporeans (Tay 1983). For example, final consonant clusters are often greatly reduced in S.E. to such an extent that the meaning of the utterance can be completely lost to someone not used to this variety of English.

The results were as follows::

(ex: C1 = child from case study 1
A30 = adult from case study 30)

1. **VERB "TO BE"** (dropping of the copula/auxiliary) before 'ing' constructions
   a) **PRE-Adj** (in Chinese and Malay the copula is not used before an adjective)
      ex: She very naughty C1
      Eh, 'anda' (egg) good for small boy A30
   b) **PRE-Pred Nominal**
      ex: There no light ah C6
      Then Superman clever or Batman clever? A15
   c) **PRE-locative**
      ex: This one in front also C5
      The tree here C14

d) **PRE-V-ing**

ex: I going to one friend's house C13
Next year you going which school? A30

C = 27/30 (90%)
A = 18/30 (60%) of the cases studied

2. **THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRESENT TENSE MARKING** (There is no subject-verb agreement in Chinese or Malay)

ex: Who say no light? A6
My mother scold me C25
Then teacher say keep the toy, then all keep up already, then sit down and go home C7

C = 26/30 (87%)
A = 18/30 (63%) of the cases studied

3. **PAST TENSE MARKING** (Chinese and Malay have an aspectual system, in Singaporean English you have non-marking or variable marking of verbs)

a) **Vowel Change**

ex: He fly out. He never fly in. C9
Not handsome...who tell you that? A26

b) **Vowel + d**

ex: Then he say A14
I promise her C10

c) **Consonant + d**

ex: Finish ah? A5
No finish C5
Then you know what happen... C30

d) **Past tense: BE, GO, HAVE**

ex: You never been there A11
My tsae-tsae (sister) go to organ class, toyland C15
No after I finish then I hope. You talk first A27

C = 26 (87%)
A = 18 (60%) of the cases studied

4. **ASPECT MARKING** (because, as previously indicated Chinese and Malay have aspect systems rather than tense systems, it is not surprising to find features of an aspectual system in Singapore English)

a) **Already**

ex: No more already A1
No more cartoon already only two pages already A21
One day he sleeping in his house, you know, then nobody already lah C30

b) **Just now**

ex: But you eat your ice-cream already just now A23
No I go swimming just now C21

C = 21 (70%)
A = 20 (67%) of the cases studied

5. **GOT** (V-got: to obtain, to become similar to *can* (see below):
V-got: possessive (= have) or existential–locative denotations there is/are)

ex: Got blood or not? A1
Got sound or not? C3
Your mummy got beat you or not lah? A25
When I naughty then she got C25

C = 21 (70%)
A = 17 (57%) of the cases studied

6. **CAN/CANNOT** (used without the personal pronoun)

ex: You want the train, you want the table, everything you want, how can? A4
I want to write also cannot draw one! C25
Three also can. Anyone also can C12

C = 22 (73%)
A = 17 (57%) of the cases studied

7. **NOUN PHRASE**

a) **Noun Plurals** (In Chinese, plurality is marked, only where necessary by other lexical items. In Malay, plurality is marked, again only where necessary by reduplication)

ex: I have two glass of orange C4
Why don't you play snake and ladder with Winnie tsae-tsae A8
Five yellow duck C12
One worm and one worm, how many worm lah? A21

C = 16 (53%)
A = 12 (40%) of the cases studied

b) **Articles: Definite and Indefinite** (The definite or indefinite article does not always occur in S.E. in positions where it is obligatory in Standard British English (SBrE)

ex: That's not biscuit A1
One day big fox and big wolf go to little pig house C15

C = 23 (77%)
A = 18 (60%) omitted the def/indef article

c) **•Subject Pronouns** (omitted in Chinese and Malay when it is clear from the context–notably in reply)

ex: Afterwards can play marble A5
Because put inside pocket lah C19

C = 21 (70%)
A = 14 (47%) omitted subject pronoun

d) **Object Pronoun** (frequently omitted in S.E.)
ex: Bessy use for going down C3
You take out for me to see lah A12

C = 19 (63%)
A = 19 (63%) omitted the object pronoun

8. **OTHER STRUCTURAL DEVICES**

a) **Tag Questions** (S.E. has two invariant tags – is it/isn't it? with a rising intonation)
ex: Mummy got for you is it? A8
Crawl on the floor, is it? A22

C = 0
A = 22 (73%) used tag questions in this form

b) **Question forms without 'do'**
ex: Why you put the kangaroo there? A2
OK, Kanda what you like to play? C30

C = 13 (43%) used the question form where
A = 21 (70%) 'do' would be expected in SBrE

c) **Or Not** (used in a question form)
ex: Your ears have or not. You ears so big can hear or not? C7
Nice or not the T-shirt lah. T-shirt, T-shirt you buy nice or not? A9

C = 11 (37%) used or not in this question
A = 24 (80%) form

d) **What** (In Chinese 'wh' word is attached to the end of the sentence)
ex: Wait for me ah, you go on the stairs, you wait go here only what. C9
Lah, so hot, wear for what? A21

C = 14 (47%) used the 'what' particle attached
A = 17 (57%) to the end of the sentance

e) **One** (In S.E. 'one' is used as a personal pronoun, a possessive pronoun and as an indefinite article)
ex: The hairband lah, it the princess one, right? C3
Not English one ah, Chinese one ah, you go and show me English one A6
Yes lah, last time ah, sit one that one train C27

C = 27 (90%)
A = 16 (53%) used the 'one' particle

f) **Also** (In S.E. 'also' occurs in response to 'also can', and in a final position where 'too' would be expected in SBrE)

ex: This one also he got ah A9
I fight anyway also can one C16

C = 20 (67%)
A = 13 (43%) used 'also' in these forms

g) **Lah** (The 'lah' particle is used extensively in S.E. in informal speech – probably from Hokkien: Richards and Tay 1977)

ex: I wear hair cannot sleep lah C17
Ah, you don't know your age lah A24
The man got one many lah...he open lah C30

C = 22 (73%)
A = 16 (53%) used the 'lah' particle

Summary

1. The analysis of the tapes confirmed Platt and Weber's (1980) findings that the English spoken in the home is of the colloquial variety.
2. There was very little lectal-shifting in English, but more than one language was used in the household, particularly if the older generation was involved.
3. Many of the features of colloquial S.E. at this stage are common to the development of the pre-school child's language as found by Brown (1973) for first language, and Dulay and Burt (1974) for second language acquisition. These include:
   - the dropping of "TO BE" as copula or auxiliary before 'ing'
   - plurals
   - definite and indefinite article
   - past tense marking
   - third person singular present tense marking
   - use of telegraphic speech (dropping of pronoun as subject or object)
   - the tag question form although widely used in S.E. colloquial is not part of the child's speech corpus as yet.

   This last point seems to fit the Dulay and Burt hypothesis on an acquisition hierarchy. The child is not linguistically ready to assimilate the tag question form in English.
4. We also have to apply Brown's principle of "obligatory occasion" (Brown 1973). The child acquiring a language creates obligatory occasions for morphemes in his/her utterances but may not furnish the required forms. However, the caretaker model also does not use these forms (Tongue 1974, Crewe 1977, Platt and Weber 1980). This is what Tay (1982) describes as a "non-developmental lectal continuum.
5. Children from different ethnic backgrounds (Chinese, Malay or Tamil) showed little or no difference in their lexico-grammatical use of English. There was, however, a noticeable difference with the English of C2 and C10. In the first case the mother was Australian and in the second the child had lived three of its four years in the USA.

6. The difference between the three to four year-olds and the four to five year-olds was not significant on the items identified in this study although there were differences on more structurally complex forms of English (e.g., will/would which are confused in colloquial S.E.)

Conclusion

If the English Language Syllabus in Singapore stressed fluency rather than accuracy only, alternative approaches could be taken to the teaching of English for those children who are clearly fluent in English (see Appendix 1). Accuracy is a relative term as it is based on a social judgement of language used by a particular speech community at a point in time. When an idealized accuracy is set up on a model adapted from an EFL target model and used in an ESL or even EL1 situation, there are bound to be a number of problems. An approach stressing fluency which operates on a more oral basis of fluent and inaccurate language may be more effective for some children than a careful building up analytically to accurate items, according to a descriptive model. Too often inflexibility is trained through too close a reference to the descriptive model. An accuracy based syllabus is by definition a deficit syllabus for children, because it does not start from where the child is. The starting point is that of the prescriptive model (Brumfit 1979).

It could be argued that in Singapore there is a growing number of pre-school children who are already fluent in English, albeit a very colloquial variety of English. These children could benefit from a fluency focussed syllabus such as *The Breakthrough to Literacy Scheme* (1978) which places the learner himself in continuous control of the language he is developing in order to read and write. Children gain confidence in using language because they are proceeding at their own rate, and because they are able to communicate their own ideas in writing, just as they do in speaking. There is the problem already indicated that many of the features of the pre-school child's language are maintained in adult colloquial S.E. But children will also learn that they have to adjust the manner and mode of communication to suit the context. Thus they will have to learn that to move along the language continuum a greater degree of flexibility will be required.

This does not mean that there is no place for a structural approach to language teaching in Singapore. There is still a large number of pre-school children whose dominant language on entering primary school is not English. They are very much in the ESL situation and a structural approach with a situational/functional component could be used (Strevens 1981, Gefen 1982). But even if accuracy like activities are aimed at the children, "the conversion of the tokens of the language thus learnt into value-laden systems with genuine communicative potential requires fluency activity in which the learners focus is on meaning rather than form" (Brumfit 1984:69).

What we are suggesting here is that since it is becoming increasingly common for children in Singapore to attend Mandarin and English medium kindergarten before entering primary school at the age of six, there is scope for introducing a Breakthrough to Literacy-type program and follow this up in the first years of primary school. This seems to be particularly true of the growing number of children who already use English in the home environment as indicated by the number of people under 30 years of age who use English as their dominant language.

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APPENDIX

SAMPLE 1
Excerpts From Transcripts

Name Ng Chee Yong
(Hokkien, Teochew, Mandarin, English)

Participants C = Child
A = Adult

Age 4 2

Date 14/10/82

Time 4:30 pm

Location Sitting Room
HDB Flat of Grandaunt

Activity The child was watching a documentary on animals before the cartoon program 'Tom and Jerry.'

1 A : What is this?
2 C : Just now kangaroo *[hoengiu:]* lah
3 A : Ha? You like kangaroo?
4 C : Just now got kangaroo *[hoengiu:]*
now got kang, kangaroo just now. Just
5 C : Ha? Now no more? You like the frog ah? What is this? Tortise?
6 A : Ah lór.[1]
7 C : You like tortise?
8 C : Don't like. I don't like old, old tortise lah. I like the very nice the tortise.
9 A : Ha? This one not nice ah?
10 C : *[hŋ]* I like very nice the frog also. Just now got snake, got?
11 A : Got snake. You like snake?
12 C : Don't like ah.
13 A : You sit here, you sit here.
14 C : Snake hór[2], can *[kin]* can suck people one ah.
15 A : Snake can eat people ah?
16 C : *[3:]*
17 A : Then, so you don't like snake.
18 C : Ah. Then this one *[ldɐ]*?
19 A : What is this?
20 C : Then I don't know lah.
21 A : Trees, plants.
22 C : Plants. Little fly hór[2] go and suck honey lái[4]
23 A : Ha? Where? Fly ah or bees?
24 C : This one *[ldɐ]*
25 A : Cactus, cactus.
26 C : Aún chúa[3] cactus?
27 A : See got sharp, shapr one like needles, can poke people.
28 C : Aún chúa[3] like that one, cactus?
29 A : Don't know. Cactus grow in the desert, you know.

30 C : Desert ah?
31 A : Desert no water...
32 C : No water.
33 A : This cactus can keep water inside, can eat.
34 C : Can eat one ah.
35 A : */hm/*. What is this?
36 C : Flower.
37 A : Orchid.
38 C : Orchid. And then?
Tia bōey tiòh[4] (He wanted the television to be turned on louder)

Footnotes

[1] *That's right* *Hokkien*
[2] *about (= concerning)* *Hokkien*
[3] *What about* *Hokkien*
[4] *come* *Hokkien*
[5] *Why?* *Hokkien*
[6] *Cannot hear* *Hokkien*

SAMPLE 2

Name Han Su Chien
Female Child
(Mandarin, Hainanese)

Participants C = Child (Han Su Chien)
A = Auntie
B = Brother

Age 4 0

Date 10/11/82

Time 12:30 pm

Location Sitting Room
HDB Flat of Grandparents

Activity This conversation is essentially between Su Chien and her brother but it seems to be more of a one way communication. She tries to act like an elder sister and gives her brother instructions on how to sit etc. Her grandmother is preparing lunch in the kitchen while her auntie is pretending to read a book while watching and recording their conversation at the same time.

1 C : Not not not like people like ghos(t) er you.
2 A : Su Chien lusfi Jiàk mú[1]....
3 C : (laugh) Ah boy sit down, ehm you listen very carefully ha boy. Your ears have or not, your ears so bic can hear or not?
4 B : ER ....

5	C :	Can hear me talk or not huh, you can hear but you can sit straigh[1]. You have bic ears you know ha you can bic ears or not. You have the bic ears then you mus(t) to tea... to tsae-tsae.	
6	B :	Heh Heh	
7	C :	Tsae-Tsae. Sit straigh(t) don'(t) stut ok,	sit straigh(t).
8	B :		Heh heh ....
9	C :	Your eyes like ghos(t).	
10	B :	Ai yah	
11	C :	Your hands like ghos(t) ah is it, blac(k) (blac(k) one wha(t), you face also blac(k) blac(k) one er, your ears also. Neber wash your teeth, neber wash your face neber rin(se) your mouth. You see the rice also gets here already. Neber wipe your mouth, never bathe so dirty er you. You see you see the kôu [2] also wan(t) to lárk[3] already ha, you see you see the rice the the the the mouth also like °chélr tū tū[4] er°.	
12	:	The mouth like chĭ tū tū et, your ears also bic er, your hair your hair also don'(t) have one er, so little. Then bic girl huh, then you very fat are you huh siâo pàng pàng[5] ah you, you like ghos(t) er you	
13	B :	Huh	

Footnotes

[1] *Su Chien eat your porridge quickly*	*Hainanese*
[2] *trousers*	*Hainanese*
[3] *fall off*	*Hainanese*
[4] *little fatty*	*Hainanese*
[5] *little fatty*	*Mandarin*